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to some better future to be realized here on earth. Such hopefulness seems to have been a special privilege of our time. It has been well said that the main trend of thought in our age has been the conscious pursuit of social well-being.

Dr. Peixotto's interpretation of the Marxist position may be questioned, and her statement that "any organized experiment, based upon conscious social service, will depend for its success upon the stage of development reached by that fundamental and decisive factor, the individual," is almost a truism, but it leads the reader back to the starting point in the circle by bringing up the question: "How is the individual to be developed, and where do the cultural influences have their beginning if not in the environment which is, in turn, conditioned by the economic status of society?" Upon that status the author has not touched, and for that reason her analysis falls short of the demands made upon it by interested students of the French Revolution and French socialism.

CHARLOTTE TELLER.

Histoire du Socialisme Française. Par PAUL LOUIS. Paris: La Revue Blanche, 1901. 12mo, pp. vii + 313.

"THE history of French socialism, which is not to be confounded with the history of the working people in France," is in reality a study of the rise of the distinct proletariat class and of the political and social vicissitudes of its existence since the French Revolution. "The formation of what is called, rightly or wrongly, the Fourth Estate is only one aspect of the problem" which Paul Louis, the French writer, has set for his task in his latest book.

The serfs of the old régime had to wait centuries and centuries before having a program, and even then the program was from outside. The slaves of the ancient societies never played a distinct rôle, either in Athens, Sparta, or Rome. That which distinguishes the proletariat from all the oppressed classes which preceded it, and were freed before it, is that it professes theories so decided that no one, through irony, has declared them dogmas. In this respect, by the clearness of its demands, it even prevailed over the bourgeois parliament before 1789. The historian has, as his mission, to search for the origin of these principles, study their growth during the century, and their relation to the economic *milieu* from which they have evolved.

M. Louis maintains that most of the modern socialistic ideas, whether communistic or collectivistic, have had their origin in France.

Germany, he says, has only given them their final form and furnished the dialectic, as it were. The author takes for granted that the program of social democracy is known to the readers, and each chapter is concerned with some historical phase of the evolution of modern socialism: property rights and the eighteenth century; Babeuf and the revolution of 1789; the precursors (Saint Simon and Fourier); the first proletariat insurrection (1830-40); from Louis Blanc to Proudhon; the social uprising of 1848; the commune (1871); and then, the time from the commune to the crisis (1871-98).

The Paris commune crowned the socialist movement of the Second Empire, as did the June insurrection the great struggle from 1840-48; but there is no comparison in these two "gigantic attempts" of the proletariat. The first was broken up on the field by all the other allied social forces; the second held Paris for seventy days, established a government, and disposed of an army. Like the revolution of 1789, the commune was not altogether egoistic, whereas, in 1848 the chances of death were embraced rather than death by slow starvation. The comparison that Louis makes between the two is exceptionally valuable in bringing out the development of certain modern principles.

Since 1871 there have been other clashes than those between the Marxists and the idealists, but there has never been any real break until very recently, because neither one of any two antagonistic organizations had taken any initiative in absolute disaccord with the fundamental principles. The case of Millerand brought about a crisis, for it practically divided the movement into two factions. Up to that crisis there were two distinct phases in the history of the proletariat after 1871—one educational and collectivistic; the other, a readjustment, as it were, to the rapid industrial and economic changes which helped to crystallize the doctrines and principles. Both of these phases are carefully examined by Paul Louis, and made to explain the internal conflicts which have kept arising during the whole period. Industrial and economic confusion, but in the midst of the chaos, the proletariat rose like a stable pivot.

With the elections of 1898, the author closes his analysis, and points to the great importance of the last four years in the history. Millerand in the Waldeck, Rousseau cabinet, and the Dreyfus affair, are the two most significant events; the question of their influence upon French socialism is as yet unanswered. It is quite certain that the origin of the movement, now so great, is to be found "on the eve of

the revolution, beyond the tremendous cyclone of ideas, which overturned all the conditions of old France." And in pointing out this origin, the author makes plain the troubled path of the historians who have neglected to ascribe the growth of the new movement to economic soil and industrial storms, but have searched for it in the hothouses of intellectual discontent.

C. T.

L'Evolution du Socialisme. By JEAN BOURDEAU. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1901. 12mo, pp. 330.

M. BOURDEAU's presentation of the evolution of socialism does not lose in value to the general reader because he includes in it more than socialistic theories and platforms. He devotes chaps. iv, vi and vii, more than a third of the whole volume, to respectively "Municipal Socialism," "Strikes and Labor Unions," and "The Trades Union Movement in France." Many readers, both socialists and their opponents, will object to the label of socialism put upon such undertakings as municipal railways and housing, but the author justifies this treatment from the growing tendency among central authorities to interfere in what has hitherto been the field of individual enterprise. The author thinks that the peculiar nature of English municipal socialism is its unconfessedness, being entirely practical, and in the eyes of most Englishmen devoid of any theoretic socialism. In Germany, the land of state socialism, the social-democratic party is turning its energy to capture the municipalities. The growth of this form of socialism in France has been rapid. In 1896 socialistic councils were elected in eight or ten great cities. An interesting sketch of the operation of municipal socialism in the typical towns of Roubaix and Dijon is given. The former is an adjunct of Lille, and is a true Marxist city, with its great divergence of rich and poor and the absence of a middle class. Numerous "benefits" have been established, as crèches, baths, free meals for school children, etc., but the great difficulty encountered has been the high expenditures that these improvements have entailed. Taxes have increased, and the *octroi*, the most objectionable, has only in two cases been abolished by socialistic municipalities. Other criticisms upon the socialistic régime have been that its benefits tend to be confined to one class, that the clerical party especially has suffered, and that, as in all other parties, true interests are often sacrificed to political exigencies.